

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

C.O.P.E.C. COMMISSION REPORT

VOL. VIII.

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Conference on Christian
politics, economics and
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CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

*C.O.P.E.C. COMMISSION
REPORTS*

- VOLUME I. THE NATURE OF GOD AND HIS
PURPOSE FOR THE WORLD
- „ II. EDUCATION
- „ III. THE HOME
- „ IV. THE RELATION OF THE SEXES
- „ V. LEISURE
- „ VI. THE TREATMENT OF CRIME
- „ VII. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
- „ VIII. CHRISTIANITY AND WAR
- „ IX. INDUSTRY AND PROPERTY
- „ X. POLITICS AND CITIZENSHIP
- „ XI. THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF
THE CHURCH
- „ XII. HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE SOCIAL EFFECTS
OF CHRISTIANITY

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

*Being the Report presented to the Conference on
Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship
at Birmingham, April 5-12, 1924*

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BASIS

THE basis of this Conference is the conviction that the Christian faith, rightly interpreted and consistently followed, gives the vision and the power essential for solving the problems of to-day, that the social ethics of Christianity have been greatly neglected by Christians with disastrous consequences to the individual and to society, and that it is of the first importance that these should be given a clearer and more persistent emphasis. In the teaching and work of Jesus Christ there are certain fundamental principles—such as the universal Fatherhood of God with its corollary that mankind is God's family, and the law "that whoso loseth his life, findeth it"—which, if accepted, not only condemn much in the present organisation of society but show the way of regeneration. Christianity has proved itself to possess also a motive power for the transformation of the individual, without which no change of policy or method can succeed. In the light of its principles the constitution of society, the conduct of industry, the upbringing of children, national and international politics, the personal relations of men and women, in fact all human relationships, must be tested. It is hoped that through this Conference the Church may win a fuller understanding of its Gospel, and hearing a clear call to practical action may find courage to obey.

GENERAL PREFACE

THE present volume forms one of the series of Reports drawn up for submission to the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held in Birmingham in April 1924.

In recent years Christians of all denominations have recognised with increasing conviction that the commission to "go and teach all nations" involved a double task. Alongside of the work of individual conversion and simultaneously with it an effort must be made to Christianise the corporate life of mankind in all its activities. Recent developments since the industrial revolution, the vast increase of population, the growth of cities, the creation of mass production, the specialisation of effort, and the consequent interdependence of individuals upon each other, have given new significance to the truth that we are members one of another. The existence of a system and of methods unsatisfying, if not antagonistic to Christian life, constitutes a challenge to the Church. The work of a number of pioneers during the past century has prepared the way for the attempt to examine and test our social life in the light of the principles revealed in Jesus Christ, and to visualise the requirements of a Christian civilisation. Hitherto such attempts have generally been confined to one or two aspects of citizenship; and, great as has been their value, they have plainly shown the defects of

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sectional study. We cannot Christianise life in compartments: to reform industry involves the reform of education, of the home life, of politics and of international affairs. What is needed is not a number of isolated and often inconsistent plans appropriate only to a single department of human activity, but an ideal of corporate life constructed on consistent principles and capable of being applied to and fulfilled in every sphere.

The present series of Reports is a first step in this direction. Each has been drawn up by a Commission representative of the various denominations of British Christians, and containing not only thinkers and students, but men and women of large and differing practical experience. Our endeavour has been both to secure the characteristic contributions of each Christian communion so as to gain a vision of the Kingdom of God worthy of our common faith, and also to study the application of the gospel to actual existing conditions—to keep our principles broad and clear and to avoid the danger of Utopianism. We should be the last to claim any large or general measure of success. The task is full of difficulty: often the difficulties have seemed insurmountable.

But as it has proceeded we have discovered an unexpected agreement, and a sense of fellowship so strong as to make fundamental divergences, where they appeared, matters not for dispute but for frank and sympathetic discussion. Our Reports will not be in any sense a final solution of the problems with which they are concerned. They represent, we believe, an honest effort to see our corporate life

GENERAL PREFACE

steadily and whole from the standpoint of Christianity; and as such may help to bring to many a clearer and more consistent understanding of that Kingdom for which the Church longs and labours and prays.

However inadequate our Reports may appear—and in view of the magnitude of the issues under discussion and the infinite grandeur of the Christian gospel inadequacy is inevitable—we cannot be too thankful for the experience of united inquiry and study and fellowship of which they are the fruit.

It should be understood that these Reports are printed as the Reports of the Commissions only, and any resolutions adopted by the Conference on the basis of these Reports will be found in *The Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C.*, which also contains a General Index to the series of Reports.

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The Commission is greatly indebted to Lady Parmoor and Miss Evelyn Underhill for material contributed to this Report. They would also like to acknowledge the help received from the Reports sent in by Study Groups in connection with Copee.

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INTRODUCTION

A BRIEF introduction only is needed to this Report, since the findings speak for themselves. It may be well, however, to refer shortly to the personal composition of the Commission, and to certain difficulties which resulted inevitably from that composition; and also to point out the very satisfactory measure of agreement which was reached in spite of important differences.

The Commission was formed of Christian men and women sharing certain broad convictions as to the Kingdom of God, and somewhat sharply divided theologically, philosophically and politically. In regard to the actual reference of the Commission there was a very large measure of unanimity, as will appear from the reading of the Report. It was, however, impossible to reconcile fully the points of view of those who take the Pacifist position and of those who, while regarding war as irreconcilable with the triumph of the Gospel, cannot as yet condemn it in all circumstances. Protracted and sympathetic discussions helped us to go very far together; each learned much from each, but on certain matters unanimity could not be reached.

All agreed that the full coming of God's Kingdom on earth involves the cessation of war, but that this can only be brought about from within, by the spiritualisation of man. "Seek first the Kingdom of God" must be the real way of attacking the war problem. In a Christian social world order war would be impossible, just as a murderous attack on

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his neighbour on the part of an individual Christian is impossible. A Christian is not only concerned with doing the best he can with the world as he finds it, but with obeying the laws of the Kingdom of God. He wants to make the world a place in which the soul can expand fully, and develop its latent energies; and Christian politics and citizenship must serve this end, or cease to be Christian. War is fatal to these ideals.

Difference arose on the interpretation of certain sayings of our Lord in regard to war and resistance to wrong, as well as in the conception the members of the Commission held of the value and functions of the State. It will be seen, therefore, that at a certain stage statements are included in the Report which express the two points of view. It was felt that this was the best mode of procedure. To have presented a statement which contained only the agreed conclusions of all the members would have been lacking in courage, and largely empty of value.

In spite, however, of this divergence, we believe that the Report represents a real corporate advance in Christian thought in regard to war. It would probably have been impossible ten years ago to have reached the conclusions embodied in the Report by a body of Christians representing serious differences in other directions.

We cannot but think that if all Christians were united in agreeing to the unanimous findings of this Report, a marked advance would have been made in the direction of the true Christian attitude towards war.

CHAPTER I

THE CAUSES AND MOTIVES OF WAR

CHAPTER I

THE CAUSES AND MOTIVES OF WAR

(A) INSTINCTS AND INTERESTS

I. THERE can be no treatment of the relation between "Christianity and War," claiming to be adequate, which does not go to the root of the matter, the causes and the motives of war, and in dealing with these one must necessarily begin with the primitive instincts in man. Is war a biological necessity, as is often alleged? Is man a fighting animal, whose nature cannot be changed, so that the tiger survives, and must survive in even the civilised man?

(i) There are two ways of dealing with the primitive instincts. There is the way of *rationalisation*, the finding of what appear respectable reasons for what are felt to be unworthy impulses, as in the quasi-biological argument that man can be saved from decadence only by conflict, or in the plausibilities that militarism and imperialism advance. There is, however, also the way of *sublimation*, the directing of the impulse into channels of activity which will be beneficent, and not destructive, as when the Arctic explorer fights the ice and snow of the poles, or the doctor fights the epidemic, or the reformer fights the injustices or wrongs of

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his age. Further here it may be added, that acquired character is often taken for inherited nature and regarded as fixed, when indeed it is very flexible. What are regarded as racial characteristics are the results of physical, economic, and social conditions and environment, and national character is the product of history. It is only an assumption that the black, the brown, or the yellow race is necessarily inferior to the white, or that the German nature is more combative than the British. Even what belongs to nature can be modified. The fighting animal may be changed into the champion of the good cause; and the tiger in man may die and be buried without any hope of resurrection, if, by education, reason and conscience are allowed to gain the sovereignty which rightfully belongs to them.

(ii) We must, however, look a little more closely at this alleged fighting instinct. It is the error of a certain type of psychology to treat man as if he were a bundle of unrelated and even conflicting interests; whereas we should always regard him as a unity, and seek to relate all differences to that unity. Man feels either pleasure or pain; he hopes for pleasure and he fears pain. He reacts to what threatens him with pain, or deprives him of pleasure, not only with fear as the motive of flight, but also, if he believes himself capable of withstanding or overcoming what threatens him with pain, or deprives him of pleasure, with anger which impels him to fight. He will fight to repel an injury or to secure a good. In the economy of nature there is no place for fighting for fighting's sake, although

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the impulse may be detached from its roots, and become an independent growth, a development afterwards to be considered more fully.

(iii) The support for war which was sought in biology is tottering to its fall. Naturalists are now telling us that nature is not so "red in tooth and claw" as a crude Darwinism tended to represent it. "The survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence" is not now regarded as the sole or the main factor in organic evolution. Animals do not fight for fighting's sake, unless men have corrupted them, but when vital interests are concerned of self, sex, or herd. Samuel Butler, Henry Drummond, Prince Kropotkin, Patrick Geddes, and J. Arthur Thomson have shown us nature as not only, or chiefly a battlefield, but a workshop in which there is co-operation. Hermann Reinheimer especially in a series of writings has endeavoured to show that conflict is contrary to, and co-operation in accord with the dominant principle of evolution. There is no such glaring contrast between the law of organic evolution and the law of human progress as Huxley insisted on in his Romanes lecture. Science, therefore, does not warrant the affirmation that fighting in the form of physical conflict at least is an inescapable necessity of the nature of man, which will and must persist at every stage of his development. Let the protection and preservation of the interests for which he thinks it worth while to fight be assured in some other way, and unless his nature has been perverted he will not keep on fighting. There are men and peoples more easily provoked to war in self-defence or self-

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assertion; but an inquiry would show that the explanation could be found in history and not in nature. Not only may the fighting instinct be perpetuated when the occasion for it has ceased, but the value attaching to the interests for which war was waged may be transferred to war itself.

(iv) To this perversion we may now give closer scrutiny. Man is the creature of custom: he suffers from mental inertia. What has once been must always be. As fighting was the way the fathers took of gaining their ends, so must the sons do. Civilised men would be ashamed to confess such a motive, and so excuses are found for keeping in the old way. Qualities of courage, endurance, comradeship, sacrifice, have been developed in war, which excite, and rightly excite, admiration; and so war itself is shrouded in a vain deceptive glamour. The chivalry and romance of war have been displayed, while its horrors and cruelties have been concealed, in the records of the past. Literature (fiction and poetry) as well as the Press have too often fostered the illusion that war itself is splendid. The love of wife and child, of home and country, have so often been the motives of the heroisms of war, that war itself has come to be regarded as an appropriate and even necessary expression of human affection. The soldier and the sailor command a regard which the miner and the fisherman do not, although they too are "in perils oft." All this false sentiment needs to be corrected by an exposure of what war really is, and a proof that qualities as fine can be developed and displayed for worthier ends than any war can ever attain.

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(v) There is a still more sinister influence on the side of war. In modern warfare, especially where the material instruments of destruction fill so large a place, a vast industry depends on their provision. In the time of war there is plenty of work, there are high wages, big profits; war at the time seems to pay, and there are some whose eyes are so dazzled by the glitter of gold that they do not see, or will not look at, the blood and tears. It would seem incredible, yet it is to be feared that it is nevertheless true, that there are those whose greed of gain makes them indifferent to the evils of war. And with the greed of gain we must also admit as motives of war the greed of fame and power.

2. Formidable, therefore, as are the influences which make for war, yet in a cultured, civilised, and even nominally Christian nation the desire for war cannot be nakedly exposed; and so reasons must be found that would justify the resort to arms. We must now examine some of the interests for which an individual or a society will fight, and will even think it needful and right to fight. These interests may be grouped as economic, political, racial, and even religious.

(i) Although the sex instinct has not been without influence in human conflicts as it is potent in animal combats, it need not now be taken into account. With the self instinct (protection, preservation, satisfaction) the economic interests are closely connected; but inasmuch as in modern society wars are waged between nations, and not individuals, the self instinct and the herd instinct here go together, and this combination may lead

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to a rationalisation, which conceals the presence of the self instinct. A monarch or a politician may for his own fame, or a class may for its enrichment, exploit the patriotism, or transformed herd instinct, of a nation to cover up those selfish designs in provoking war, which it would be a shame to confess.

(ii) There is to-day throughout Christendom a general recognition that aggressive war is wrong; but it is still commonly maintained that a defensive war is right; and there is even a widespread opinion that a preventive war, where aggression by another nation is threatened, or even only feared, can also be justified. The moral issue involved will be discussed later; the distinction is here mentioned to point out that as aggression may take other forms than invasion, a war may be claimed as defensive even when no invasion is being repelled. A nation may feel itself attacked in its most vital interests, even although no enemy may be on its soil. A nation claims the right, not only to exist, but to develop, and to find the opportunity for development; it claims food for its growing population, raw materials for its developing industries, open markets for its expanding commerce, and an outlet for its surplus population. To limit its opportunity in any of these respects is felt by it as an aggression no less real than would be invasion of territory. The conviction, honestly held, whether with or without adequate reason we need not now determine, in Germany that it was being hemmed in, that it was not being allowed its proper place in the sun, was exploited by German militarism and imperialism. For any nation to close the door of

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opportunity for another is, and cannot but be, a provocation to war.

(iii) Commerce and finance are becoming international; all parts of the earth are mutually dependent. Hence any selfish appropriation regardless of the interests of others by any nation will bring about conditions which will sooner or later result in war. Powerful groups which control commerce and finance may for their own interests by subtle intrigues bring about international relations unfavourable to peace. Although in the long run and on the big scale war does not pay, yet a class or a group may regard it as profitable, and work secretly to bring it about, or even, regardless of the awful risk run, may induce a Government to use the threat of war to secure some advantage. In order to conceal these selfish interests, the herd instinct in its more moralised form of patriotism may be appealed to. Seldom is the economic interest openly confessed. It is usually disguised as regard for national safety, power, or honour.

3. The herd instinct now claims attention.

(i) It is a social instinct, but has an exclusive and not a comprehensive scope; the attraction within the family, class, tribe, or nation is allied with a repulsion from what is beyond. Nationality and humanity may even be regarded as opposed interests. In the nation struggling for its existence patriotism usually assumes this exclusive form. It is the nation which has won its way in the world which takes and can afford to take the wider outlook. As the content of nationality is varied, including all the main interests of life, a nation will regard its

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existence and development as bound up not only with the economic interests which have already been noted, but with all that is characteristic and distinctive. It will struggle for its own language, culture, manners, morals, and religion. Even what may seem a trivial interest may acquire importance, if it comes to be regarded as a symbol of the national unity and independence, *e. g.* the use of the national flag or national hymn. Perverse as it may seem, patriotism may become the motive not of self-protection and self-preservation alone, but even of the subjugation of neighbouring peoples, with a view to imposing on them what is regarded as of special value in the nation's own life. Europe is at the present moment distracted by efforts to suppress the language and the religion of national minorities. When this perversion of patriotism—the desire to gain dominion over other peoples—becomes a characteristic feature of national character and policy, nationalism expands into imperialism; and still the greed of wealth, or power, or fame can hide itself under the sacred name of patriotism. While Christian morals do recognise the fact of nationality as a noble factor in human progress, and the love of country has been a stage in the movement from the love of home to the love of mankind, and the time is not yet, it would seem, for a cosmopolitanism which ignores and depreciates nationality and the corresponding sentiment of patriotism, yet what needs insistence is that the unity of mankind forbids this exclusive patriotism, and that patriotism must not be used as a cover for the advancement of interests less respectable. The prejudice, suspicion,

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rivalry, and hostility of nations is a survival of the herd instinct which at the present stage of man's development can no longer find any manner of justification.

(ii) More deep-seated and wide-reaching even than national are racial differences. We should in this connection attach a definite meaning to the term race, and not use it as loosely as it is often used. We may speak of the white, brown, yellow, and black races. Whatever be the origin of these differences, they are not such as to challenge the unity of mankind. Whether there be natural repulsion on physical grounds of one race to another or not, it is certain that the racial feeling, which is imperilling the peace of the world, has its main source in historical conditions. The white race has secured a position of dominance in the world which has led it to regard itself as superior to other races, and to use its power to inflict on the other races injustices, wrongs, and outrages which are provoking a spirit and purpose of revolt. That benefits have also been conferred cannot be denied, nor that in the white race there is a growing sense of responsibility for and obligation to the common good of other races. But whatever promise there may be of better understanding among the races, at the present moment this race antagonism must still be reckoned with as one of the most threatening causes of war. This can be averted only as the sense of a common humanity prevails over this racial prejudice, and becomes the motive of a policy of conciliation and co-operation for common interest of the white and the other races.

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(iii) It would be unjust to ignore the progress which has been made toward the recognition of the unity of mankind, and the limitations under which national and racial sentiment are legitimate in subordination to, and not in conflict with, the love of humanity. Men have not, however, so far risen above the herd instinct in these concealed forms as not to respond only too readily to what appears to them even as a moral and religious appeal, when the word patriotism is used, and this appeal is often used to conceal wishes and aims for which no moral and religious plea could be advanced. In the interests of peace there must always be a searching scrutiny of any causes or motives which are advanced as affording a justification for war.

4. In this connection it may be useful to draw a distinction between the occasions and the causes of war. The occasions are the definite circumstances in the relation of nations to one another which are the immediate provocations to war, but these are often so trivial that they would not be sufficient to bring about war were there not these permanent causes and motives of war waiting, as it were, for the occasion. A small spark may bring about a great fire, if there are explosive materials about. We do not give an account of the origin of war if we only record the events which immediately led up to it; we must search much more deeply into the whole interplay of interests and impulses which affect the relation of nations.

5. While morality and religion should provide a check on primitive instincts or selfish interests, yet when patriotism is appealed to, whether with or

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without justification, both appear to have given their sanction and approval to war. Whether either the one or the other should do so is a question for later consideration, but the fact itself cannot be doubted. What should be checks on war then become encouragements of it. The part which unhappily religion has played in the provocation and sanction of war demands a fuller historical treatment.

(B) RELIGION AS ONE OF THE CAUSES

We have to remember how recent is the conception of war as hateful to God, and therefore by consequence as contrary to the spirit of true religion. We constantly meet men and women whose faith in God and religion has been shaken or destroyed by the horrors of the late war, with its cruelty and the injustices of the sufferings of the innocent. "Why did not God stop the war?" people ask. "How could He, as He is good, allow such pain to go on?" "Surely God cannot be loving, if He could see all that happened, and give no sign."

We have, thus, to consider the historical connection of religion and war as man sees it. The complaints already mentioned rest upon the conviction that war with its horrible accompaniments is in its nature evil, and that an omnipotent God, who could have stopped it, did not stop it; and further, on the corollary of the former position, that organised religion ought to have been able to prevent or stop the war, and that organised religion

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failed in its obvious function by not doing so. But great would have been the amazement of our forefathers only three or four hundred years ago if any such propositions had been put to them. It is true that throughout the Christian ages a few more enlightened persons realised and deplored the horrors of war; but such advanced views were unknown to the vast majority. Their view both of religion and war, and their conception of God's attitude towards war, were very different. Further back still, the Israelite regarded war as necessary for the triumph of Jehovah: as a true means of the extension of the Kingdom of God. The Crusader thought of battle against the infidel as the highest act of religious heroism, undoubtedly pleasing to God, and to the glory of the Church. To the champion of the Reformation or the Counter-Reformation war was necessary for the vindication of the truth as it is in Jesus. Was not Holy Scripture full of denunciations of vengeance against the heretic who was the enemy of God and the Church? Was not the Psalter crowded with mingled piety and warfare? Was not the righteous called upon to wash his footsteps in the blood of the ungodly? Was anything too severe for the enemies of the Faith? But we must consider some of these points in somewhat more detail.

(i) *The Old Testament*.—Within the last few years a widespread sentiment has grown up which rightly regards certain passages of the Old Testament as unsuitable for public reading in church. The savage vengeance meted out to Amalek centuries after the guilty generation had passed away; the

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wholesale massacres of Jehu; the cruel treachery of Jael; these and many other incidents, typical as they are of much of the Old Testament history, shock our modern sense of right and wrong. It is not only tender-hearted people nowadays who refuse to share in Deborah's exultation over the death of Sisera. This new view has partly been brought about and partly justified by the light which modern learning has shed upon the Scriptures. Man's knowledge of God has advanced in succeeding stages, so that what is horrible to the best men of to-day was regarded as quite normal by their forefathers. But it is only lately that the bearing of this new teaching on war has been realised, even if it is at all generally understood yet. Until a hundred years ago at most, the Old Testament view of war was generally regarded as in accordance with God's will, however much merciful men tried to forget or explain so painful a belief. No doubt, in Old Testament times, as always, motives in war were mixed; other elements entered in; but they were all connected with religion. Territorial aggression might be the ostensible cause of a war; but was not the god himself strictly limited territorially? He could not even be worshipped off his own soil. David complains that Saul is driving him from the land of Jehovah, saying, "Go, serve other gods" (1 Samuel xxvi. 19). Naaman begs that two mules' burden of earth may be given him, so that in his own country he may be able to worship the God of Israel (2 Kings v. 17). This sort of conception of the god of a nation must have had a very powerful influence in the making and waging of wars. The

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god himself was vitally concerned in it. Indeed, the motive which comes out again and again in the warfare of Israel is the triumph of Jehovah over His enemies. It is in His interest and at His command that wars are waged. He cannot reign until all enemies are put under His feet; they must either submit or be extirpated. This conception of the relation of God and war in the Old Testament is in no way regarded by the writers of the sacred books as a misunderstanding of the will of God, who is really merciful, but misinterpreted by His people. It was by the direct command of Jehovah, revealed to Samuel, that the hurricane of vengeance descended on the Amalekites. He commands that little children and women and the innocent beasts are to be massacred. He is enraged because the cattle are spared by the merciful or mercenary Saul. Whatever view be taken of the attitude of our Lord towards war, there can be no doubt whatever of the teaching of almost the whole of the Old Testament. This teaching, hardly modified in practice, has been the rule in the wars of the Christian ages. Even to-day we can easily find men and women, otherwise good and merciful, who, during the late war, and since, have appeared to regard the foes of their country not very differently from the way in which Samuel or Elijah looked upon Amalek or Syria. The idea that war is contrary to the will of God is denied by many professing and practising Christians to-day, largely under the influence of the Old Testament.

(ii) *Greece and Rome*.—It is possible only to glance very briefly at the civilisations from which,

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apart from that of Israel, ours is derived. What was the view of Greece and Rome as to the relation of war and religion? Anyone who possesses the slightest acquaintance with the classical writers knows that the gods of Greece and Rome were for ever at war among themselves, and were continually fostering wars among men. In the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* the loves and hates of the gods are at the bottom of the whole trouble. They sting and goad men to battle unwearyingly. They themselves by their quarrels and jealousies initiate war on earth; they interfere on this side or that, fomenting disagreement when it seemed likely to settle itself. Nothing is further from the will of the gods than to stop war, unless by the final triumph of one god or goddess over another. Certainly it was not to religion that a Greek or a Roman would have looked as a force preventing war, even if he had thought it possible or desirable to stop war at all.

(iii) *The Angles and Saxons*.—Even more marked is the place held by war in the religion of our own immediate pagan forefathers. To the earliest Englishman war was religion, and religion war. The highest fame—the only undying praise—went to the warrior. Not only in this world was warfare the delight of those fierce men and their fiercer gods, whose names are everywhere to-day on our English countryside and preserved in the very days of the week; heaven itself was the place where war was crowned finally. In Valhalla the warrior perpetually slew his foes, who were eternally raised to life again to be slain afresh. Whatever has been

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the influence of pagan religions upon our civilisation, it has certainly not been hostile to the spirit of war.

(iv) *The Crusades*.—We pass now to a series of wars which lie near the beginning of modern times, choosing them for mention because they were above all wars of religion. Whatever the Crusades may have been worth to ambitious kings, territorially or commercially, these values were secondary in fact as well as in idea to the religious motive. The tremendous impulse throughout Europe which drove men to the wars in the East was a call to arms in the name of religion. The immediate necessity was to rescue the places sacred to Christianity from the defiling dominion of the infidel. If the saving of the Holy Places necessitated the slaughter of the infidel, so much the better. The honour of the Lord Christ must at all costs be vindicated. Such was the spirit in which prodigious deeds of chivalry were performed, and countless dark and horrible cruelties committed. But the Saracen also was actuated by a religious motive, even fiercer, if possible, than that of his Christian foe. He drew his courage to resist, as he had drawn his spirit of aggression, from his faith. He offered religion or the sword, Islam or death. His wars were in intent religious.

The Crusades, then, were wars of rival religions, Christians and non-Christians, in which both sides considered that God was vitally interested; indeed, in which His glory was involved.

(v) *The Thirty Years' War*.—We may pass on now over several centuries to a typical war of

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religion of a later date. The Thirty Years' War in Central Europe from 1618 to 1648 presents to us a different and sadder phase in the relation of war and religion. After the crisis of the Reformation it is no longer war between Christianity and some alien religion which tears Europe into pieces; it is a series of wars rending Christianity itself. It is Christian against Christian, Creed against Creed. Other interests were involved, no doubt, and to a greater extent than before pure material selfishness entered in. But this was avowedly a war of religion. The idea of religious toleration was dimly finding its way into great minds; but in the seventeenth century men were only gradually being emancipated from the stage at which the burning of a heretic was regarded as necessary for himself and the Church. Wars of Christian religion were merely the general expression of the same principle. Dynastic, territorial, commercial interests may have been involved in the Thirty Years' War. But those were secondary, at least in men's minds; the conflict of religion came first. Which was to triumph, Rome, Wittenberg, Geneva? Men cared even to the death about so great a question. Agony and grief were nothing in comparison with the triumph of the truth. Thrones rose and fell, policies were framed and changed, in the interests of different forms of Christianity. And because neither side clearly triumphed there emerged from the strife the grotesque formula, "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*," "Whoever holds the sovereignty, let him choose the religion." It was too absurd a solution to hold the field for long.

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(vi) *The Civil Wars in England and Ireland.*—Contemporary with the 'Thirty Years' War, and in many ways parallel with it, were the Civil Wars in the British Isles in the seventeenth century. But beginning as they did within a few years of the end of the Continental struggle, we see the religious impulse less dominant. It was there, clearly enough, but it was overshadowed by constitutional rivalries and problems. In Ireland the religious motive was more obvious, and the massacres perpetrated by both sides in that lamentable struggle have survived to exacerbate the political controversies of to-day.

But the principle of religious toleration has made way, so far at least as war and death are concerned. Religion has ceased to be a dominating cause of conflict between civilised states.

In these days men do not go to war about religion. However they may quarrel in less violent ways about their various creeds, it is no longer a cause of international rivalry. In the late war Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jew fought side by side against Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jew of a different political loyalty. The religious aspect of the thing took another form. Much was said on either side by way of proving, or asserting, that the cause each defended was just, and therefore that God must approve and bless it. But the Churches took neither side. How could they? They were all involved on different sides. We fight to-day for the control of the markets of the world, for wealth, and territory which brings wealth, for coal and oil and iron. Our Western civilisation has reached the

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stage when, partly from indifference, partly from shame, religion is no longer a cause of war, and yet cannot stop it. The united Christian consciousness of Europe and America was powerless to control national forces. It could do little even to soften the bitterness of the struggle or to mitigate suffering. It may indeed be said that the loving and skilful care of the wounded owed much to Christian compassion; but two thousand years of Christianity have failed to mitigate the savagery of Christian nations at war. It must be confessed that the mode of conducting war since 1914, and much of the sentiment shown since the peace, derive far more obviously from the Old Testament, even from the standards of our pagan forefathers, than from the Gospel of Christ.

To sum up these considerations, it must be confessed that the history of the influence of the Christian Church on war is very sad reading. Men believe, and rightly believe, that the Church should be an international Christian Commonwealth, transcending all smaller divisions, and refusing to be moved from the principles of the Gospel by any lower ideals. That this has not been so historically, and is still so far from being so, is the great tragedy of the Christian ages.

CHAPTER II

THE MORAL PROBLEM : IS WAR RIGHT OR WRONG?

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WHILE these are the causes and motives of war, yet as man is a moral being, and in the measure in which he is sensitive in conscience, will he feel himself under obligation to justify war, or a particular war on moral grounds, or grounds that at least appear moral. We need not concern ourselves with the point of view of those who find no moral problem in war, and thus see no need for offering a justification for it, as no one who takes the moral standpoint can for a moment entertain such a view. War may be justified on three grounds.

I. The first argument may be stated in terms such as these. The individual is subordinate to the State, patriotism demands that he should be prepared for any service or any sacrifice which the interests of the nation demand of him. Whatever may be his own opinions or feelings as regards war, if his own nation is at war, the responsibility for it rests on the rulers, and his obligation is to do whatever he may be required to do in defence of his country's honour and safety.

(i) In support of this position it is contended that a man ought to love, care for, and serve his own country, and that the State as the organ of the common action of the nation may claim his

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loyalty and submission so far as conscience will allow. The substance of Paul's plea for submission to the Roman Government is still valid. The association of human beings in fellowship, in co-operation, and not conflict has been one of the primary causes of the uplift of mankind, as regards not only material evolution, but rational, moral, and spiritual progress. Of this fellowship there must be some expression, and this the sense of belonging to a nation, the sentiment of patriotism is. Of this co-operation there must be an organ. While for many partial fellowships and co-operations there may be voluntary societies, yet there are common interests which can be protected and advanced only by one association, the authority of which finds general recognition. For practical purposes this association must take the form of the State.

(ii) It is contended that within its protection and by its promotion there have been produced law, order, settled conditions, a continued improvement of the standard of life, education, and artistic culture. As individuals we could not have advanced to the personal liberty and responsibility to which we have attained unless the arms of the State had been around us to provide a secure haven in which we might develop. Because of the advantages from this corporate life it is to the normal mind a duty beyond dispute that each citizen should support his State to the utmost. To many minds there is something peculiarly objectionable, "unsporting," in the attitude of the citizen who, having taken the advantages without a question all his life,

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when the State is in peril and conflict, appeals to his individual conscience in refusing such service and sacrifice as his nation may require of him. The normal mind will not indulge in any fervent sentiment of patriotism, it will not conceal from itself the horror and the misery of war; but when the country calls its manhood to the colours for its own protection, or for any cause to which it is pledged by its honour, it will accept any service, however unpleasant or even hateful it may be, because it is the decent thing to do one's duty to one's country.

(iii) Such an argument, which does express the scarcely articulated thoughts and feelings of a great multitude of those who fought, suffered, and died, cannot be treated without respect and sympathy. But it is not a withholding of the respect and sympathy due to point out some of the flaws in the argument.

First of all, there seems to be too close an identification of the nation and the State, much as the State has in the history of many a nation contributed to its preservation and progress. While the State is an indispensable organ of the nation for its corporate action, the nation's thought and life, for which such great claims can be made, is not exhausted in the action of the State, and what is best and truest in it has often been hindered and not helped by the State. Patriotism as love of country has to be distinguished from loyalty to the State, and may sometimes demand even defiance and disobedience. No man will lightly incur that responsibility, if he recognises his moral obligations

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to the society in which he finds himself, but the possibility that a man may best serve his country by resisting its Government must not be excluded.

For, *secondly*, the State not only may, but often does fall short of what is best and truest in the nation, and has most claim on the devotion of the citizen. For history has shown the State as the wrongdoer, as the enemy of advancement. Even when the Government is dominated by public opinion and popular sentiment, no such infallibility can be claimed for it as to forbid the independent judgment of the individual conscience, even admitting that that too may and does often err. Still less can the State claim such absolute moral authority, when the machinery of government is, as sometimes happens, being used by politicians for their own individual interests, or the interests of a class or group possessing an influence over them.

Accordingly, in the *third place*, the progress of human society has depended very largely on the independent activity of the reformer, even martyr, who recognises a higher law within than any laws without; and takes the risk and pays the price of following conscience even when that means disregarding Cæsar. One of the greatest of the Greek tragedies, the *Antigone* of Sophocles, presents to us for our admiration a sister who performs the funeral rites for her brother despite the prohibition of the country's ruler. Jeremiah, one of the greatest of the prophets, was regarded and treated as a traitor by the rulers of his people. And as the apostles asked, so in every age and land men have had to ask the question: "Whether it be

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right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye." The individual conscience cannot be relieved of the responsibility of moral judgment and decision by loyalty to the State or love of country, great and enduring as ordinarily is the claim of the State to submission, and of country to any service or sacrifice which conscience allows.

2. Those who justify war, or only a particular war, while condemning war generally, must fall back on the second argument. However bad war is, in the miseries it inflicts, in the passions it lets loose, in the deterioration of character and conduct it involves, there are worse things than war—injustice, oppression of the weak by the strong, breach of faith, invasion and tyranny; and to prevent and resist these war is legitimate. It is always evil and never good; but it may be the lesser of two evils, a necessity however lamentable.

(i) Those who so argue ought not to be charged with delighting in or approving war. For many during the Great War the decision to volunteer for military service was a real moral choice. Without at this stage of the discussion considering the question from the Christian standpoint, the first moral question which must be raised is this. Are there interests so vital to the moral character and progress of mankind that to protect and vindicate these so great an evil as war may be incurred? The moral judgment of mankind generally has had no hesitation hitherto in an affirmative answer.

(ii) But the further question may be raised, Had there been no resistance, and only submission,

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would right or wrong have prevailed in the long run? As the patience of the saints has worn out the fury of their persecutors, would iniquity allowed to have its own way at last have been abashed? There, again, we are only in the region of probability and not certainty. It is true that the victory has not always been to the good cause, and thus war is an uncertain arbiter.

(iii) Once more it must be urged that to-day war conflicts with the highest morality current as it did not in former times. It is not possible to believe that Leonidas at Thermopylæ, nor the French at Agincourt, nor the Swiss at Sempach, nor Garibaldi with his Thousand were criminals. These actions were notable examples of a morality which only differed from the universally current practise in being more thorough, more heroic. In ancient days tenderness for human life had not yet been generally felt, man was not thought of as a vehicle of the Universal Spirit of God, so his life was not sacred, religion was not loyalty to the divine in man, but loyalty to something emphatically different from man. Therefore human life was taken at its superficial face value; it could be replaced. What moral qualities did war produce in ancient times? In it the foundations of courage and patience and public spirit were laid. Men learnt obedience to authority, learnt how to be organised, learnt craft and sharp devisings. They also learnt cruelty, brutality, blood lust, tyranny over the weak. Sympathy, which is the basis of all high morality, was weakened, and the heart was hardened. That is, up to a certain point, an

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elementary point, fighting had ethical value, along with ethical loss. But all that is now at issue in conduct—sympathy and tenderness, justice, self-control, a broad humanity, gentleness, what is meant by the character of a gentleman or a saint, reliance on spiritual forces, a disciplined and habitual purity—all these are denied and reversed in war. There you have to do to others what you would not that they should do to you; upbuilding is changed to destruction; to harm, not to help, is one's central purpose. Morally, there is established a topsy-turvy world, and naturally an outbreak of crime follows every war. When in doubt on a moral practice it is a safe guide to find out what is the type of conduct evoked among those who practise it; so it helps us here to see where in history war ceased to be useful. For modern society actually depends for its existence on the growth of sympathy, leading to co-operation, public spirit and the elimination of poverty and disease. War is morally a dangerous survival. Moreover, modern war has left no scope for valiant personal encounter, though corporate courage is needed as much as ever. That is, its former uses are of the past, for the most part.

(iv) *Lastly*, we must therefore press the question, Whatever the function of war may have been in the past, have we reached a stage in human progress when the moral ends sought by war, and missed as often as gained, can be secured in some other way? It will be difficult to persuade nations to abandon war as a last resort altogether, unless the methods of promoting peace among the nations

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become so certain and general that there will be no provocation of war, and no moral grounds on which a justification of war can be offered. The morality, challenged by war, must meet the challenge by providing the conditions of enduring peace.

3. This consideration suggests a third argument offered in justification of war.

(i) It may be contended that when man's moral progress is completed, war will be no more, but that meanwhile man is not good enough to solve his problems without war, and that even those whose conscience is for themselves in advance of their own age or people, must bear the iniquities of others in submitting to, and even participating in modes of action which they cannot approve. In order not to be morally a stumbling-block to others, they must sacrifice the full expression of their conscience in their conduct: they must act on a lower level with their fellows rather than separate themselves from them. When there is a common peril which seems to call for a common effort that it may be averted, a man must be very fully convinced in his own mind to bring himself to refuse any share in measures to protect his country from invasion, or to preserve its independence. Love for our fellow-men in danger, suffering and struggle may seem the better part even than the "conscience void of offence." A regard for our own moral integrity may in such an hour seem egoism, and the suppression of our scruples to do and dare, endure and suffer with others may seem altruism.

(ii) Such a presentation of the moral situation

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makes a strong appeal to many, and one does not judge those who respond to it. But two doubts regarding its moral soundness at once arise. Is not conscience the one good which no man has a moral right to sacrifice? Admitting in all humility that he may be mistaken, and judging with charity those who differ from him, for each man his own conscience must be the supreme moral authority. All else he may in love for others surrender, but that law within, for that links him to a wider moral community of God and mankind, and love for that is the supreme moral love. If this be so, in the second place, the best gift that any man in love for his fellows can bestow on them at any time is loyalty to that inner law. He misses a great opportunity if in just such a situation he does not maintain the supremacy of conscience.

4. As it is not the Christian conscience alone which has pronounced war wrong, and refused any part in carrying it on, for pacifism has been held by many who do not confess themselves as Christians, we must consider the general moral grounds for condemning war.

(i) Here a distinction must be recognised between those who would say that war everywhere and always is wrong, condemned by an universal, permanent principle, and those who would unreservedly condemn it here and now on the ground that it is contrary to the stage of moral development that in the civilised races has been realised. This distinction is due to the passing of ethical thought to the evolutionist standpoint. Morality is to be thought of, not as a universal and permanent

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law, but as relative to a growing good, of which it is itself part. The man is good whose conduct corresponds with and advances that growing good; the man is bad whose conduct contradicts and hinders that good. We do not need to ask, Is war right or wrong absolutely, but is it right or wrong for us to-day in the total conditions of our life, including the development of conscience? Right and wrong are moral attributes and can therefore only be ascribed to beings who can exercise moral attributes. It is never the act, always the agent, that is right or wrong. It is only when nearly all agents at a special place and time agree in considering any act to be right or wrong that the word becomes generally, though loosely, applied to acts, such as lying or stealing. The distinction above drawn, obvious when stated, is of quite cardinal importance when we are concerned with acts which some think right and others wrong; but it is nevertheless generally ignored. Even the agreed articles of our moral code are not as universal as they look. It would be possible for a romancer to invent situations to which, to avoid greater evil, lying and other transgressions might become duties. By so putting the question, we are relieved from the necessity of condemning as bad all who fought in the wars of the past, the record of which fill so many pages of history. We can even admire their loyalty, courage, and sacrifice. One of the ultimate problems of all theistic thought is this. Why has man evolved in this way, and not another such as we can imagine more desirable?

(ii) There has been through travel, commerce,

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colonisation, and other means a great unification of the interests of mankind : the ideal of one humanity has ceased to be a vision, and promises to become a reality. War is a retrograde movement, opposing the progress which all the conditions make possible and imperative for mankind. On a candid examination modern wars must be recognised as mainly due to rival ambitions, military or economic, or both. No one Great Power can be regarded as a total villain, and none as perfectly innocent. For the relations which to-day provoke war, the responsibility must be shared by all, whose policy is selfish and regardless of the interests of others. That such policies are pursued in times of peace is morally blameworthy, and condemnation cannot be reserved for the one nation, or group of nations, whose action is the occasion for that explosion, the materials for which all nations were collecting.

But it may be said we are surely to fight when our country's "honour" is impugned. The word deserves consideration. For the honour of a nation works at times in a way opposite to the honour of an individual. An honourable man will take no advantage over his neighbour, either by violence, legality, or deceit. He is careful to adjust any unfair advantage he may have gained. He would not make a secret treaty with one neighbour against another. As a trustee he would be faithful to his wards. He would not exploit their property nor sell concessions to do so. He would not sell a poisonous drug like opium, for profit, nor grind the faces of the poorest to get cheap labour. But nations are rivals in the exploitations of the dark

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child races for whom they are trustees. A nation's "honour" too often consists in scoring off a rival, and having to yield nothing. Individual honour, then, is opposed to excessive egoism, national honour is sometimes the same as satisfied egoism. We must therefore scrutinise very carefully every claim advanced under cover of "national honour."

(iii) To defend all that is done in war as action similar to that of warding off by force an outrage on a woman or child, or struggling with a burglar, or as in line with the action of the policeman in arresting, or the judge in sentencing the criminal to imprisonment, is simply to compare things altogether unlike. Few wars and few operations in any war can be defended on such grounds as these. Further, the use of force in an ordered society is limited as far as possible. Moral obligations to the criminal are recognised. The policeman who uses unnecessary violence is censured by the bench; the advocate who unfairly pressed the case for the prosecution would suffer in his reputation. But in war, not only the use of force, but falsehood, deceit, and the loosening of all moral bonds are justified. The normal moral relations between the civilians of the two nations at war are suspended. It is thought by some misguided patriots a duty to hate women and children, and to demand reprisals upon them. Far as the treatment of criminals fails to be what it ought, there is not the remotest analogy between what is done to them to restrain them from wrongdoing, and what is done, justified, and even made a boast of in war. This is a paradox, that man in a civilised

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community to-day has been so moralised that war involves a demoralisation such as it did not in previous ages.

5. A consideration which must not be passed over in collecting the data for a judgment is the futility of most wars. They do not accomplish what they were intended to accomplish, however honest and honourable may have been the motives of those engaged in them, or when men look back upon them after a lapse of years they see that the ends, so far as they were legitimate ends, might have been accomplished in another way. Lord Salisbury admitted that in the Crimean War, Great Britain had "backed the wrong horse." The Treaty signed at Lausanne stands in historical continuity with the "Peace with Honour" which the Earl of Beaconsfield claimed to have brought back from Berlin. The war to end war has left Europe in a condition in which, unless the hearts of nations be changed, another war is being prepared. But let us take the three most defensible wars of our own time. The unity of Italy was achieved by military methods, and she has failed to realise the ideals of her noblest patriot, Mazzini. Without depreciating Lincoln's greatness, the nobility and sincerity of his purpose, it must be noted that emancipation was not the issue raised at the beginning of the American Civil War, but the right of States to recede from the Union. This war left a twofold legacy of hate, the one between North and South, and the other between white and black or coloured in the South. Although there has been an improvement in the relation of the two races,

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yet in some of the States the negroes have been denied the protection of the law, and the rights of citizenship. An instructive contrast is the relation of white and black or coloured people in the British West Indies. There emancipation was effected by legislation; there is not the same colour hatred, and the descendants of the freed slaves are passionately loyal to Great Britain. Even in the United States of America the problem of slavery would probably before long have found an economic solution, as experience has shown that free labour is more advantageous than bond. If that consideration had not sufficed, the growth of the moral sentiment against slavery would certainly in time have achieved a moral victory. How tragic have been the results of the first Balkan War for the emancipation of the subject peoples from the tyranny of Turkey! This was followed at once by the miserable quarrel over the spoils between Serbia and Bulgaria, which produced the second Balkan War, the intrigues of Austria and Russia for a predominant influence, the murder of the Archduke, which was made the occasion for bringing the quarrel of the two Great Powers to a head in the Great War.

While such divergent judgments are held by men whom we must recognise as equally conscientious, we cannot claim that the moral conscience of even the more fully developed peoples has solved the moral problem of war. Can the religious consciousness in its highest expressions, as is generally acknowledged, the teaching and example of Jesus, the Christian revelation of God, meet the moral demand?

CHAPTER III

THE CHRISTIAN POSITION IN REGARD TO WAR

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(A) THE TEACHING, METHOD AND EXAMPLE OF JESUS

THERE is no direct evidence that Jesus explicitly either condemned or condoned war. His view on the question must be attained by indirect means. In the first place we may draw inferences from His general revelation of God. In the second place we may examine some of His teaching which comes nearest to having a direct bearing on war.

1. *Jesus as Revealer of God*

(a) Jesus stands on the basis of the revelation of God recorded in the Old Testament. The Jew held firmly to certain convictions: that God is one; that He is perfectly just and holy; that He is the Creator and Sustainer of the world; that He cares for men, and required righteousness of them. All this Jesus accepted, and He based His teaching upon it. But He was not bound to the Old Testament. His conception of the righteousness God requires of us went deep. "Ye have heard that it was said . . . but I say unto you" (Matt. v.). He did not hesitate even to repudiate

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requirements of the Levitical law. The greatest advance on the thought of His contemporaries was in His conception of the wideness of God's mercy, the power of His love and the nature of His redemption of man.

(b) The Jew of our Lord's day thought of God's care as limited practically to Jews, and to those among the Jews who were earnest in the attempt to live righteously according to the Law. The Gentile was outside any real care of God. The unrighteous Jew lay under His displeasure. Righteousness won God's favour, the unrighteous had nothing to expect but destruction. Now Jesus taught that God cares for the lost; He welcomes the returning prodigal because He longs for his return, loving him still in his sin (Luke xv.). He seeks the lost until He finds him (Luke xv. 4). And He regards His own Mission as to sinners rather than to the righteous (Mark ii. 17). He claimed that God showed favour, not to the good as their desert, but to both evil and good because of their need (Luke vi. 35; Matt. v. 45). He broke down racial barriers, finding saving faith in a heathen (Matt. viii. 5-13; Luke vii. 1-10), and He cast the traders out of the outer court of the Temple because they were depriving the Gentiles of one of the few religious privileges which Jewish exclusiveness allowed them, quoting as He did so the words of the prophet, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the Gentiles" (Mark xi. 17).

(c) The fact is that Jesus thought of God's love not as a reward to His chosen and righteous people,

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but as a powerful force able to transform the unrighteous into righteous. In other words, God to Him was the Redeemer in a fuller and deeper sense than the Old Testament had realised. New Testament writers grasped this. To them, redemption is no longer, as in the Old Testament, a Divine rescue of the righteous from their misfortunes and their enemies, but a Divine rescue of sinners from themselves and their sin. This is the very heart of the Christian message. No man is hopeless. The heathen can be made God's people, and the sinner can be transformed into the saint, by the power of the love of God. For, as St. Paul said, quite in the spirit of His Master, it is "the goodness of God that leadeth thee to repentance" (Rom. ii. 4).

(d) This same sense of the wideness of God's mercy and the power of His love accounts for the difference in our Lord's conception of the Kingdom from that of His contemporaries. He thinks of it as something growing (Mark iv.); already present (Luke xi. 20); yet still to come (Luke xi. 2). The humble and childlike are already in the Kingdom, and the Kingdom is itself spoken of as an inward state (Luke xvii. 21). It would then appear that Jesus thought of God as winning His control of men by bringing them to repentance (a change of mind), so that they inwardly submitted themselves entirely to Him. They became more than subjects, His friends and children, because they had utter confidence and dependence on Him, and inward understanding of their King. Every man who enters into such relations with God becomes both

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consciously, and in his unconscious dealings with his fellows, God's messengers to them, leading them to make a like change, and accept a like control. Thus the Kingdom as an individual state of mind and heart passes over into a universal reign of God over all men.

The whole of Jesus' life and actions are seen to work towards this end. He made His aim the change of the individual, and the appeal made in life and teaching He confirmed in His death. For it was because of His message, and its antithesis to the ordinary standards of His day, that the opposition which led to His death arose. Both His insistence on God's love to sinners and His attitude to the Gentiles brought Him into conflict with the authorities (Mark ii. 17, xi. 27 ff.). And because He claimed to be Messiah, while they did not believe Him to be Messiah, the ruling class of the Jews had Him executed. The root cause of His death, then, was His message. The idea of God which the Jewish rulers had was in conflict with the idea He had. Their God stood for privilege, favouritism, rigid nationalism, narrowly conceived righteousness. His God was love, He stood for the unity of all men, and for a redemptive love that would make sinners righteous. Thus His death confirms His message. But in another way also it confirms it. Facing evil and hostility, Jesus continued to meet them with love and forgiveness. Standing for a God of love, He must love to the uttermost, and suffer the utmost that evil men could devise rather than retaliate upon them. Jesus loves His enemies, and dies at their hands,

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because God loves His enemies and seeks to save them from their sin. All this shows Jesus definitely regarding love as the power which is to conquer, and Himself trusting it to the end. It suggests a repudiation of all exclusive nationalisms and the establishment of a world-wide Kingdom of God, in which love will be the motive power of life.

2. Teaching apparently Contradictory

(a) In apparent contradiction to all this about love, there is a great deal in the Gospel about the destruction of the wicked. There is the fate of those who cause little ones to stumble (Mark ix. 42-48)—the hell of fire where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. The wicked husbandmen are to be destroyed because of their unfaithfulness (Mark xii. 9). We are to fear Him who has power to cast into hell (Luke xii. 5). The unfaithful servant is to be cut asunder and to have his portion with hypocrites (Matt. xxiv. 51). The unprofitable servant is to be cast into outer darkness, "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (xxv. 30). And the blasphemer against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin (Mark iii. 29). Other passages of a like character might be quoted.

(b) With these must be associated certain words of Jesus sometimes held to show approval of war. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matt. x. 34). No one really believes that the object of Jesus' coming was to set man against

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man. But everyone knows that the choice between the old standards and the new that He introduced does bring division, and sometimes even war. The words are probably a foreboding of that. Their intention in this place is to let the disciples know that, though the message of Jesus is glad news of perfect final harmony in God's Kingdom, the way to it is through suffering, because men will not accept the message. In a discourse at the Last Supper, Jesus is reported to have told His disciples to sell their garments and buy swords (Luke xxii. 35-38). A few hours later He rebuked one of the disciples for using his sword (Matt. xxvi. 52, 53). So it does not look as if the words were to be taken literally. This statement is of such doubtful meaning that no certain conclusions can be drawn from it.

In Mark xiii. 7, Jesus foretells wars. This is simply a prediction of fact, not the expression of a moral judgment. A study of the context leads to the conclusion that Jesus was referring to events coming very shortly, and which took place before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

3. More Direct Teaching bearing on War

We may now turn to consider the teaching of Jesus that comes nearest to having a direct bearing on war.

First, Jesus both on a general principle and in a particular instance forbade His disciples to fight. "My Kingdom is not of this world : if my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews" (John

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xviii. 36). The clear implication is that the Kingdom of God is not to be gained nor defended by fighting, but by some other and better means. Jesus rebuked Peter for using his sword in defence of Him (Matt. xxvi. 52, 53).

(c) We will now look more closely at two sayings of our Lord which have most bearing on the matter. "Love your enemies" (Matt. v. 43-48). This is noteworthy, not only as a principle of action, but especially because of the ground upon which Jesus urges it. "That ye may be the sons of your Father in heaven." The implication is that we are to do good to all men, bad and good alike, and to consider their welfare equally because God does so. It may be questioned whether national enemies or individual enemies were before our Lord's mind, but there is no reason to think that He would have countenanced different attitudes in the two cases. The reaction of love to hate is enjoined because it is God's reaction, and therefore of universal validity.

(ii) "Resist not him that is evil" (Matt. v. 38-42). This section naturally divides into two parts. There is first the statement of a general principle, which is the direct reverse of the principle of retaliation and retribution: "Resist not." The second part consists of several instances of how this principle is to be carried out. The general principle is the important matter. If that is carried out, and the evil-doer is met with kindness, conciliation, and love, the action taken is a comparatively unimportant detail. But the instances still have some importance. "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." This

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clearly implies that one should rather receive a repetition of the first injury than repay with injury in the same way. "Let him have thy cloke also" means, it is better to let one who is unfairly taking one's property have more than he asks than to retaliate upon him with injury. "Go with him twain" indicates that in Jesus' estimate it was better to do more than was demanded than to refuse forced service. "Give to him that asketh" indicates that the generous spirit, even to the demands of a tyrant, is better than the opposite attitude. These indications, then, one and all point to carrying out the principle of non-resistance to its fullest extent. They also indicate that it is not a negative principle, but is positively "overcoming evil with good," as St. Paul phrased it.

"Resist not" is put in contrast with the Jewish principle of retaliation and retributive justice, "an eye for an eye" and "a tooth for a tooth." This principle is enunciated in each of the three recensions of the Jewish law (Ex. xxi., the Book of the Covenant; Deut. xix., the reformation under Josiah; Lev. xxiv., the Priestly Code). It was publicly administered law, and its object, stated in Deut. xix. 19-20, was to "put away evil" by deterring others from doing wrong. It would then appear, if these Old Testament passages were in the mind of Jesus, that in this place He definitely intended to repudiate both the retributive and the deterrent methods of punishment, and to substitute the principle of winning men by love. It is remarkable that in the last few decades many of those who have studied criminals and punishment are

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coming to agree with Him. They have found retribution and deterrence, on balance, evil; and kindness when tried has often won great successes. While from the Old Testament quotation with which the section opens one must assume that the idea of punishment was in the mind of Jesus, from the following context in the illustrative examples we may conclude that another form of evil-doing than that which courts of law can touch was also in His mind.

The mention of forced service in Matt. v. 41 indicates that part at least of what was in His mind was the injustice and arbitrary exaction which the Jews as a subject people suffered from their Roman rulers and their underlings. The demands for money or goods indicated in verse 42, and the legal unfairness of verse 40, may very well also refer to the same sort of circumstances. This means that here, as in some other places, Jesus is indicating a truer attitude to the Romans, the attitude to be assumed by His disciples.

(B) DIVERGENT VIEWS

Up to this point the members of the Commission were in agreement. But here a divergence appeared between those who hold that war is in all cases and circumstances wrong, and those others who, while believing that the development of Christianity under the guidance of the Holy Spirit must in the end show the utter incompatibility of the Gospel with war, yet hold that it may be not impossible at present to conceive of a religiously

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righteous war. It seemed best, therefore, to insert at this point in the Report two sections; the one putting the view generally known as pacifism; and the other stating the position of those who believe that, hateful as war is, it cannot be absolutely condemned in all circumstances.

(a) Statement of the Position of those who do not accept Pacifism

Among all Christians there should be, although there are not as yet, the following common convictions about war: (i) that war is contrary to the spirit and purpose as well as the teaching of Christ; (ii) that a Christian is bound to do all he can to promote the interests of peace, and to prevent the provocation of war; (iii) that any war of aggression of which the motive is greed, pride, selfishness, or worldliness is wrong, should be unreservedly condemned, and should be opposed by all available means of influencing public opinion and popular sentiment, not only by individual Christians, but by Christian Churches in their corporate testimony and influence. (It has already been pointed out that an apparently aggressive war may be preventive or defensive, and here judgment is not so simple, although most Christians who have really thought out the question would mitigate their condemnation while withholding their approval.) The issue seems to narrow itself down to this. Is even a war to resist invasion or vindicate justice altogether wrong, evil as by its very nature we must regard war to be? This involves for the Christian these further

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questions. Is Jesus' teaching about non-resistance to wrong authoritative for all times and places? Is the redeeming grace of God in Christ the only method by which God deals with sin, or has righteous judgment a place in His Providence? Is Christian ethics a law to be rigidly obeyed regardless of varying circumstances, or is it an ideal to be realised gradually in correspondence with the total conditions of the human progress, in which the Divine purpose is being fulfilled?

(i) It is generally agreed that in morals absolute rules cannot be laid down; there are permanent and universal principles, but their application must be relative to time and place. A Christian must always love, and not hate; he must ever be willing to forgive and never seek revenge; he must be ready for any sacrifice which love and forgiveness may demand. What is not certain is whether love always demands non-resistance to violence, outrage, or wrong, and that forgiveness must be offered whatever be the attitude of the person to be forgiven. It is not certain that resistance to wrong and holding back of forgiveness may not be the sacrifice which the highest moral interests may require. Those who do not accept the Pacifist position are no less eager for the realisation of the Christian ideal, even if the problem does not seem to them so easy of solution. The question a Christian has to ask, if he is himself injured, is, would he by more submission promote the moral good of the wrongdoer, or would severity of rebuke, or even inflicting of some penalty, bring home to the conscience the nature of the offence? Still

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more difficult is the question when it is another who has been injured, or runs the risk of hurt. To forgive an injury done to ourselves may be a clear duty; but not so clear the duty of allowing another, whom we could shield, to suffer hurt. More complex even is the situation of a government, with the responsibility of maintaining the order of the community, and obedience to its laws, of thus protecting the person and the property of its subjects; if its subjects are also citizens with a share in the government, that wider responsibility also falls upon them.

To preserve and to protect a nation with the varied treasures of thought and life that it has gained in the course of its history does appeal to even a Christian conscience as so sacred an obligation, that resistance to invasion or oppression may seem an imperative, however lamentable, necessity. It must be conceded that war is as inadequate and inappropriate a method of fulfilling a moral obligation as could well be conceived; to prevent attendant evils so great as to imperil the moral good itself seems impossible; to limit its scope to the fulfilment of the moral purpose for which it may have been undertaken has hitherto passed the wit of man; passions are then let loose which morally injure the nation in defence of which the war is undertaken. Admitting all this, Christian men have found themselves in a situation in which no other course than war for the safety or honour of the nation seemed possible. So far the Christian Church generally has not understood the teaching of Christ, or the spirit and purpose of the Gospel,

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as to regard war as for the Christian absolutely prohibited in such circumstances.

(ii) We must recognise that the teaching of Jesus was relative to time and place in its concrete applications of His enduring truth. Even if He had, as is contended, national enemies in view, political oppressors and not religious persecutors, it may be argued that what was the duty of the small Christian community, passive submission and not active resistance, placed as it was at that time, is not necessarily the duty of a nation when confronted with an assault on its independence, and all that liberty has meant, and still means for it. To fulfil His vocation Jesus had to detach Himself from, and even oppose Himself to every suggestion or encouragement of the political Messiahship the people craved, and His community must share His attitude. He foresaw that disaster would be the result of the rejection of Himself and the course to which He called, and that His cause would be preserved only by His community not following the policy of the Zealots. The wisdom of His teaching none can in the retrospect of history doubt or question; and in an analogous situation it would be counsel to be followed. But is every situation in which resistance to wrong may be offered analogous? An affirmative answer would not appear always justified.

(iii) The appeal to the teaching of Jesus regarding non-resistance is not conclusive; and we must emphasise rather the inconsistency of war with the redemptive grace, the forgiving love of God in Christ. That when that purpose finds its fulfil-

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ment, and in the measure in which it finds its fulfilment, war will be no more, is the hope of every Christian heart ; and this hope must inspire efforts toward that fulfilment. While this method of dealing with sin is the method by which alone the final victory of God over sin will be achieved, it does not follow that here and now it is God's only method ; and that if men are to be the imitators of God, it is the only method obligatory on them. Even in the teaching of Jesus there are passages which indicate another method—the judgment of sin. This teaching has the support of the prophetic discourses and the apostolic writings ; and the greater part of the Bible would need to be rewritten if there is no reaction of God against sin in the condemnation of sin, and the expression of that condemnation in the consequences of sin. The great ethical literature of the world as well as the individual conscience supports the same conclusion. This does not involve any incompatible attributes in God. God's love is the communication to man of His perfection, that man may be holy as God Himself is holy ; and it is no less love to condemn sin than to have compassion on sinners. That men may share God's condemnation of sin, the evil of their sin has to be brought home to their consciences in the consequences of their sin to themselves and others. Love may suffer the infliction of pain that it may secure goodness. Merely retributive consequences of sin would be incompatible with the love of God ; but if these consequences be deterrent, reforming, and remedial, these may be the only ways in which love

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can win its way with some. To invoke the Divine omnipotence is an irrelevance, as omnipotence cannot solve moral problems. That God's resources of love will avail at last to overcome all sin and unbelief we may hope, however faintly at times; that among the resources He employs as well as the direct appeals of His love we may reckon these consequences of sin we may also believe, without doubting His love. To describe these consequences as natural is not to relieve God of the ultimate responsibility for them, unless there be an order of Nature independent of His will, and even opposed to His purposes. That there is difficulty in harmonising the punishment of sin as it appears in the natural and moral order with the redemption in Christ Jesus may be admitted; the problem for thought will be solved only when the problem in fact has been solved, when grace shall have triumphed not over righteousness but in righteousness. The consciences of many Christians have been all astray; still more has Christian theology had no glimpses of the truth, if there be no Divine judgment on sin.

(iv) If God did not manifest His final purpose at the beginning of His creation, but has been gradually revealing it and realising it as men were able to receive it and respond to it, then evolution is His method, and a gradual progress in the way in which the Christian ideal can alone be realised in human history, man being what he is. The Christian ideal does exclude war. But Christian wisdom must under the guidance of the Spirit of God judge whether in any situation war can be

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altogether excluded, whether the stage of development has been reached when this element in the ideal can be fully actualised. We are forced to recognise the relativity of Christian ethics in this respect. It is a conclusion to which the Christian thinker will come with regret and reluctance, as it would certainly be more congenial to claim that we must here and now give effect to all Christ taught and act only in the spirit of redeeming grace. There are few wars which could be justified from the standpoint which has been enunciated, for neither in scope, purpose, nor result do wars generally conform to the moral requirements which the Christian conscience must affirm.

(v) About one duty there should be no doubt among Christians, even those who do not accept the pacifist position. If their own nation has refused to submit the quarrel with another nation, which is the occasion of war, to the League of Nations, or some similar judicial or arbitral tribunal, or is refusing to accept the decision so obtained, they must refuse to fight, cost what it may, as no moral justification for the war so pursued can be offered. It has been suggested as a means of preventing war, that the following pledge should be taken by all who recognise how seldom a war can be justified, and who desire to do all that they can do to put an end to war: "Believing that Law must take the place of War in international disputes, we, the undersigned, solemnly pledge ourselves to withhold service from any Government which refuses to submit the causes of the dispute to an international Court, or which refuses

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to accept the decision of such Court. We will fight to defend our country in the event of an attack by another nation which has been offered arbitration, and which has refused it, but in no other circumstances." The expediency of such a pledge need not now be discussed. But surely the Christian Churches could declare that they would not give any sanction or support to a war for which the fullest moral justification could not be pleaded? And those Christians especially who are not prepared to condemn war in all circumstances are under a moral obligation to do all they can to prevent just those circumstances in which war seems the lesser of two evils. They must be not less zealous than Pacifists are in their opposition to war, and all policies which make for war, and in working for the international relations which will promote a permanent, assured peace.

(b) Statement of the Pacifist Position

1. All recognition of duty is subjective. Undoubtedly there must be a final good which is the aim of all life, and equally there must be an ideally right way by which that aim may be attained, but no individual has either a perfect conception of the aim, nor an unerring grasp of the method of its attainment. Each man must to the best of his powers, using all the light he can get, follow the way that to his conscience appears right, in reliance upon the Spirit of truth who guides into all truth those who sincerely desire to be led. Thus while every man must act according to the dictates of his

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own conscience and use every endeavour to gain all the enlightenment he can, no one has a right to blame another for acting according to *his* conscience because that happens not to lead along the same path as his own. What follows is then in no sense meant as a condemnation of those Christians who do not accept Pacifism. It is what some Christians sincerely believe to be right. They would greatly fail in duty if they did not strive both to act upon it themselves, and as far as in them lies to make it known to others. They assume no moral superiority. They have none. The difference between them and their fellow-Christians is not one of moral attainment, but a difference of opinion as to what is right.

2. It is important to keep clearly in mind that it is war that is under consideration, not the use of force in general. War is force carried to the slaughter of innocent people wholesale, organised by States without any court of justice or appeal to a higher power, and aiming on each side at the subjugation of the opposing nation to the will of the conqueror. From the very circumstances of the case, when once it begins between modern great States the whole of each nation is, as far as possible, mobilised against the whole of the other, and neither side can afford to forego any action which might lead to an advantage over the other. Thus it comes about, and in the nature of things is bound to come about, that one after another the scruples of humanity and the dictates of the Christian conscience are thrown aside and war becomes more and more ruthless. This in its turn leads to a

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progressive deadening of the moral sense of the nations engaged, so that towards the end of, and after, a great war atrocious deeds are palliated and condoned, which in the early stages of the war could scarcely even have been committed, much less justified. It is, in fact, these spiritual and moral evil results of war that are amongst the chief grounds for the Pacifist condemnation of it. That war destroys men, in most cases innocent men, wholesale; that it maims and mutilates many more; that it causes the violation of women and the deaths of children by famine, all these are counts in the indictment against it. Yet, on the one hand, if by war there were some moral and spiritual advantage achieved, or if, on the other hand, fighting against aggression could put a stop to these evils, it might be held that, though costly, war was worth the cost. But the case is otherwise. Spiritual and moral degeneration sets in in all nations engaged in war. Even when war is entered upon in the spirit of chivalrous idealism, the necessity for doing evil deeds sears the conscience and breaks down the moral standard. And the conduct of war leads the nation whose cause is just to the commission of far more atrocities than its attempted protection of the weak prevents. War does not deliver the goods. Moreover, war greatly increases the evil passions of envy, hatred, and jealousy, which are generally recognised as amongst its causes. Far from being similar to a thunderstorm which clears the air, war loads the international atmosphere with many more immoral passions than it clears away. The Pacifist case against war is,

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shortly stated, not merely that it means destruction of life and property on a great scale, but that it also necessarily implies a lowering of the whole moral standard.

3. If we look upon the modern world, in which, owing to the development of rapid transit, all the nations are brought close together, we realise that if there is to be any enrichment of life for mankind generally, it can only come about by the cultivation of all that makes for mutual understanding and harmony amongst men, of sympathy and the power to understand another's point of view, of sincerity, and perhaps most of all of the willingness to surrender one's own individual interests in deference to the wider interests of the whole. Now it is these that war tends to kill. It cannot proceed without the cultivation of callousness; untruth and deceptive half-truth are essential methods of war-time propaganda, and though the individual has often in war to learn to subordinate himself to the State, a lesson that has perhaps been learnt too well, what is chiefly needed in modern life is the subordination of the nation to the whole of mankind, and war denies this. Even when a nation wages war in a just cause, though the evil passions and ideas that cause aggressive war may be absent from its people, the process of war itself produces the moral degeneration just mentioned, as our own recent experience testifies. For it would be difficult to find any nation that ever entered upon a war in a more idealist spirit than that of Great Britain in 1914. On every side we now have the testimony of moral

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deterioration. The conclusion seems obvious that war is a means that disgraces the holiest cause.

4. These considerations on the one hand, and the contemplation of Jesus Christ and what He stood for on the other hand, lead an increasing number of Christians to deny that war can under any circumstances be right. If war were a single simple phenomenon, merely one case of the problem of the use of coercion upon persons, it might be true that no general moral principle of Christianity could be urged against it. But it is a most complex phenomenon, which, having its roots in evil desires, false aims, and sinful passions of men, destroys human life, blights human happiness, increases the moral obliquity of mankind, and tends to perpetuate itself by preventing the growth of those spiritual qualities which are necessary for its extinction and producing those that make for its continuance. We agree with multitudes of our fellow-Christians, a rapidly growing and vigorous host, that one of the great public duties of the individual Christian and of the whole Christian Church must be to promote peace and to prevent war. We see avenues of useful work in these directions open on every hand. International friendship must be encouraged; people of different countries must get to know one another better, and the Christian organisations in different countries must combine together for common effort for the Kingdom of God. The difficulties that might lead to war must be settled by arbitration, and the causes that lie deeper, greed, misunderstanding of real interests, mistaken ambitions and foolish pas-

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sions, must be removed by gaining a truer view of life and duty. All things that make for international co-operation towards a better state of things should have the hearty support of all Christian people, and it goes without saying that all true followers of Jesus Christ must refuse to support their own country in any war that is aggressive or unjust. They must learn to criticise their nation's policy, even as they endeavour to criticise their own conduct, with a view to bringing it up to the Christian standard.

5. All this unites, or ought to unite, all Christians, but many will feel bound to go farther. They will see in the Divine revelation in Jesus Christ the indication of a way of life that will not only if lived out take away the occasion of all wars, but will actually, if only a sufficient number of people heartily accept it, even bring wars to an end and establish justice in the earth. For they see in the life and activity of Jesus, and in His death, a method of overcoming evil which, entirely repudiating all means that injure or destroy human life, conquers the evil in it by good, and only by good. They see that returning good for evil and meeting hatred with love hold promise of a victory far greater than has ever been achieved in the world by might of arms, for they see that instead of destroying the enemy it turns him into a friend and so enriches the world. They see that the weapons of Jesus were reason, love, and persuasion. He stood for the good of all. His ideal was such that no one could see it without accepting it as his ideal. His motive was care for men, desire for their

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good and for the true development of their characters. And He made every endeavour to bring them to see and accept that ideal by the appeal to conscience, common sense, and human good feeling. Christians from St. Paul's time onwards have seen the whole significance of their Lord brought to a focusing point at Calvary; and it is surely in the light of the Cross, the supreme revelation of God's nature, that we can best interpret the fullness of the Christ. On the Cross Christ declares not only the full horror of man's sin, but God's way of treating the sinner. When Jesus went up to Jerusalem, human history reached its greatest crisis; men were challenged to pass judgment upon man, to choose or reject the things that belonged to their peace. The whole conduct of Jesus proves how fully He realised the momentous character of the issue, how deeply He yearned that His own might be saved from a fatal misuse of their power to choose. Surely here if ever He would have been justified for His mother's sake, for His disciples, His people and the world, in employing coercion. The words in Matt. xxvi. 53 indicate that He believed such a course within His power. But in spite of the agony of it He refused to resist, and chose, as He had done in His temptation, to appeal only and solely by the influence of suffering love. Though by His decision a sword was driven through His mother's heart, though He was disappointing the hopes and provoking the denials of His disciples, He went to death rather than use any form of compulsion. When they struck, He reviled not; when they crucified He prayed,

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“Father, forgive.” Bearing the effects of men’s sins in His own body He did not cease to love. And His love thus revealed triumphed. Pentecost and the redeemed society of believers were the first-fruits, being lifted up He draws all men unto Him. A spiritual change unique in human experience was accomplished.

6. It is on this ground that we believe love to be the supreme, indeed the only, redemptive influence. If this is true, and it is surely fundamental to Christianity, then a complete “transvaluation” is necessary, all the standards of this world must be changed. If Jesus is the revealer of God, and God is like Jesus, then the love which gives and suffers is the way of life. All else will, in the nature of things, ultimately fail; this alone creates and regenerates. The universe is so ordered that those who sin against love inevitably bring evil consequences upon the world through which the innocent suffer with the guilty. But the Church exists in order to carry on the work of redemption, in order to love, and if need be for love’s sake to suffer. And if the Master would not, surely the Church cannot, contemplate any other method of overcoming evil. If the Church or the Christian is martyred by refusing to fight for life, did not Jesus chose martyrdom, and warn His followers that they also must take up the Cross?

7. That Divine love is not a mere amiability or passivity is plain enough. Between the cowardice which shirks moral responsibility and yields itself a victim to circumstances and the wise and passionate devotion which seeks and saves the lost

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there is a world of difference. The Christian is in a real sense called to struggle : only certain weapons are forbidden him. He cannot willingly use evil means to achieve good ends : such means do not, in fact, accomplish their purpose. God's love has so ordered the world that consequences of awful severity often fall upon those who are blind or rebellious and upon the innocent victims of ignorance or sin. But the right to inflict pain is surely conditioned by love ; and only rarely can any of us feel so sure of our love that we dare use force to express it. "Vengeance is mine : I will repay," is a pre-Christian conception of God, and as such perhaps inadequate ; but at least it warns us that we are not fit to assume the Divine prerogative or to exercise a power which only love can rightly use. Some have claimed that they have killed in war while loving : if there are any who love enough to take so great a responsibility we cannot share their confidence.

8. At the same time we do not wish for a moment to dispute the extreme difficulty of the problem of compromise, or to deny that for the Christian the conduct of life can only be the best possible under the circumstances. Living in a world only partially Christian and with characters and instincts largely unredeemed, each one of us must constantly find it bewilderingly hard to choose the right course. It is easy enough to condemn those who say, "Let us do evil that good may come" : none of us dare claim to have recognised or resisted the temptation consistently. For the conflict of loyalties between the full pursuit of our own convictions and the

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obligations of love and fellowship to our comrades is often intolerably hard. Especially under modern conditions where corporate life is organised and complex we cannot contract out of our environment so as to be free of all responsibility for the sins of the society to which we belong. What is required of us is that we make the all-inclusive aim, the Kingdom of God, our one object in life regardless of the consequences to ourselves. That the following of such an aim can only bring good to all men in the end is obvious. If in seeking it we experience hardship or suffering, we should welcome them as our share of the sufferings of Christ through which the world is to be won for God. But we must be chary of condemning the past and ready to admit the sincerity and to sympathise with the actions of others whose conduct is for us impossible. Nor do we deny that progress is slow, or that the full discovery and realisation of the mind of Christ are only gradually revealed, or that the Christians who have sanctioned war in the past have been wholly sincere in their discipleship. But the danger of excusing ourselves on these grounds is familiar to us all. It is indeed the chief source of our weakness that we slip into lower standards of conduct without being able to draw the line between adaptation to circumstances and concessions of principle; and the belief that progress must be slow is probably the greatest obstacle to its speed.

9. Our case against war does not depend upon any assumption that the use of force upon persons at all times and in all circumstances is anti-Christian; the matter of war stands apart from others.

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We have seen in these recent years its hideous meaning and effects upon victors and vanquished alike; few will now claim that it purifies or permanently ennobles. We have learned how impossible it is, even in a war against aggression, to judge the justice or to maintain the ideals of a cause: when once an appeal to arms is made, passion supersedes judgment, hate is fostered and embittered, love and truth are forgotten. We have been convinced that "a war to end war" is a delusive cry: multitudes who sincerely believed it must now have seen their faith overthrown. We realise that every decent thing for which Christian civilisation stands is imperilled by it, and that its recurrence will be ever more and more destructive and inhuman. And if war revealed for many a comradeship and romance in life such as a materialistic peace had never brought, these qualities of the Spirit are not those only of the fighting man, but may be shown by the man who shares Christ's outlook towards service and sacrifice, and finds in the Christian adventure a moral equivalent for war. Surely here, in view of such lessons, we have a manifestation of evil with which there can henceforward be no compromise. So long as we are all content to go slowly and in our hearts to encourage doubts of the redemptive value or of the practical possibility of love, mankind will lack the power to break the chains of instincts and habits. If the Church took a united stand against this particular and admitted evil, the effect of the challenge would react not only upon the issue of war or peace, but upon all similar though less obvious cases of compromise. Ignorance

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of the right course is so often and so truly our excuse for failure to follow Christ that when the alternatives are plain (as to us in this matter they seem to be) we dare not refuse to take our stand decisively.

10. A great task that lies before the Christian Church is the abolition of war. How is this to be done? Deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of men is the conviction that there *must* be some power by which sin and evil in the world can be met and overcome. That power is love. There is a natural law in the spiritual world, and love that emanates from God is invincible. "The anger we create will rend us, the love we give will return to us. Biologically everything breeds true to its type; moods and thoughts just as much as birds and beasts and fishes." If we depart even for a moment from reliance on God's methods, if we step out of the narrow way, be it ever so little, hoping to circumvent some difficult obstacle, by that much do we hinder and delay our approach to the Kingdom. It comes to this, we cannot overcome hatred by hatred or war by war, but only by the opposites of these. Evil can only be effectively overcome by the mightier power of love. The Church is the custodian of that mighty power, committed unto it by Christ Himself. It will only overcome the world as it makes gentleness its might and love its transmuting flame. The positive duty of the Church is to help men and women to see that the *real struggle* in life is not with external enemies which may for the moment embody the "spirits evil," but *within themselves*; to demon-

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strate that it is possible for the power of God to work within us an amazing sublimation of all those lower tendencies and to transmute our abounding energies into a mighty driving power which shall work in continuous harmony with the will of God. Men and women of the Christian Church will then seek the expression of these harnessed powers not for ignoble purposes of self-interest, but in a co-operative effort to remove the appalling results of man's sin, and to establish in its place a new social order in which the spirit of war and hate shall be unknown. They will be guided by the wisdom that differentiates between the victim of evil and the evil itself, and will seek to meet the wrongdoer only with weapons chosen from the armoury of God. This will involve a break with much of the tradition of the past, but at the same time it will be a return to the simple yet passionate faith of the early days in the history of the Christian Church. There must be a wholehearted acceptance of Christ's standard of values, and thus a complete revision of many tragic compromises with the standards of the world.

II. The acceptance of such an alternative to the method of war as this calls for nothing short of a Holy Crusade. This Crusade must be conceived as a Great Adventure on the part of the Christian Church. The spirit of adventure is dependent upon a *mighty* Faith—a faith that is willing to take any risks because it is confident that God leads. To those who say there is peril in an advance such as this, we would reply there is an even graver peril in standing still. To-day the Church, like Sisypheus,

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is condemned to roll uphill the war-weighted rock of humanity, and to be repeatedly overwhelmed by its ever-increasing weight, just at the moment when the long struggle of the years appears to be reaching successful culmination. What then is our duty? There is only one clearly defined way for the Church to go. It is the way its Founder went, involving the definite repudiation of any un-ideal method of establishing the Kingdom. Is it too much to ask of the Church of Christ to believe that *now* is the accepted time when she should once and for all abandon her reliance on the method of war even to resist the wrongdoer? Let us not flinch from the consequences which such an Adventure of Faith might involve for us. At the heart of the world's redemption stands a Cross, and to hope that we can fully and fearlessly proclaim the Gospel of Reconciliation without it is to miss that strait and narrow way which leads to Calvary. With humble and contrite hearts we would dedicate ourselves anew to the task, and in the spirit of dauntless adventure set forth on the great Crusade. What this adventure is has been well stated in the following words :—

“ What greater message of cheer and reconstruction could be brought to mankind to-day than the assurance that all who bear the name of Christ in every land have solemnly resolved to have no part in war, or in preparation for war, but henceforth to work unitedly for peace by peaceful means alone? Shall we not make this venture of faith together in the love that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, and that

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never fails? Shall the torch of spiritual heroism be borne by the Church of the living Christ, or shall leadership in the utter rejection of war pass from our hands to men of braver and truer spirit? Which Master shall we who call ourselves Christians be known by all the world to serve, the God of Battles or the Prince of Peace? ”

CHAPTER IV
THE CHRISTIAN'S DUTY

CHAPTER IV

THE CHRISTIAN'S DUTY

THE Commission having recognised that a statement regarding the legitimacy or otherwise of war from the Christian standpoint to which all the members could agree was impossible, submits statements of the two positions, as on such a matter a decision one way or another by a majority was not desirable. It would be a disaster if difference upon this question were to divide the Christian forces, when in practice a very large measure of unity can be attained in working for the prevention of war and the promotion of peace. We now pass with pleasure from a subject on which the members of the Commission were not entirely agreed, to deal with the common tasks of Christians, both in a time of war, if a war should ever break out again, and in periods of peace.

1. *Duties in time of war.*—The conditions during war involve many moral and spiritual perils; and more than ever must the Church of Christ witness and labour for the Christian way of life, against hatred and cruelty, and for pity and helpfulness.

(i) However intense the feelings of patriotism, the Church as a universal community must never lend itself to any propaganda of prejudice and passion. It must be scrupulously just and even

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kind in its judgment of the enemy, and conscientiously honest in its scrutiny of its own nation and that nation's allies. In the lying which is regarded as a necessary weapon of warfare it can have no part. The Church must give itself to the ministry of intercession for friend and foe alike that misunderstandings and enmities may cease and love may prevail. It must always seek to rise above national limitations, and seek at the throne of grace fellowship even with those from whom war would estrange. A German scholar confessed that at the beginning of the war he read his New Testament in the English translation in his private devotions, and an English scholar that he had used the German translation. Both were seeking to sustain their unity in Christ. Christians in each nation, instead of allowing themselves to be carried away by the popular sentiment, should strive to be a leaven; if that were realised national enmities would be abated. It should not be regarded as treason to pray for the common good under God's hand of all nations without distinction. Whatever measures to prevent financial and commercial intercourse between the warring nations their Governments may take, all must be done that can be done to maintain the bonds of Christian fellowship, and Governments must be made to understand that Christians must be free to obey God rather than man. If missionaries of Christian love be not allowed to pass from one country to another, yet meetings of prayer could be arranged simultaneously, and through neutrals communications, which must be strictly non-political, might be maintained.

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(ii) Not only for those whose consciences allow them to become combatants, but even for civilian workers, responsible servants of the Government, difficult problems arise, which cannot here be discussed in detail. While occasions for opposing the action of the nation in its emergency should not be sought, and relief of conscience where it is offered should not be refused, yet the conscience which has been, by prayer and scrutiny, purged of self-assertion, and has been submitted to the Spirit's guidance, must remain the ultimate authority for each man, but must be obeyed with charity for all who differ from its dictates. As the conscience of the nations led by the Christian Churches succeeds in preventing wars and promoting peace will the Christian's difficulty about his conduct in time of war be removed.

2. *The prevention of war and the promotion of peace.*—While under present conditions the duty of preventing war must remain, yet what should be the objective of Christian prayer and service, should be such conditions as will promote peace, a peace which no threats of war will disturb, because the occasions of war have been removed.

(i) As regards the prevention of war, the duty is twofold. The provision of such an international authority as will be accepted as arbiter in all differences and disputes between nations which might lead to war: and the maintaining of such a spirit in all the nations as will make that agency effective. In the Preamble to the Covenant of the League of Nations the two objects are set side by side—or, rather, the promotion of international co-operation

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actually comes before the prevention of war. This is in accordance with the view which, with remarkable prescience, General Smuts urged in December 1918—that the peace activity of the League must be the foundation and guarantee of its effectiveness in checking war. The success of these peace activities has indeed been the most outstanding feature of its short history.

(a) Efforts to secure a truly effective and impartial arbiter have often been made, but into their history it is not necessary now to enter, for what now holds the field is the League of Nations. Incomplete as it still is, because Germany and Russia on the one hand, and the United States of America on the other, are not yet included in its membership; impotent as it has sometimes appeared, when the Great Powers, following their own interests, withheld their support, restricted as are its functions by the jealousy of nations lest others should gain any control over their policies, it has already accomplished much, and would accomplish more, if Governments were made to feel that the nations were resolved that this means of maintaining peace must be used to the full. So much has been published about the League, and so accessible is information about it, that it does not seem necessary to deal with the matter in detail. In Great Britain, the League of Nations Union has set itself the task of not only commending to the nation the League of Nations, but of bringing to bear on the League itself the public opinion and popular sentiment which it can instruct and inspire on international questions, so as to secure the fullest

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use of its powers for the promotion of peace. By discussion in the League of Nations Union, questions have been prepared for the consideration of the League of Nations itself. So extensive and active is the propaganda of this Union, that no more need be said here about it, except to commend it to the cordial and generous support and service of all Christian people; for whatever the future may hold, the League of Nations itself is the only effective international machinery in the political realm for the prevention of war.

(b) It is recognised even by those who have most faith in the League of Nations that, left to the Governments, it would fail as other international efforts have failed. The people must be behind the Governments, and drive them, if need be, to use the League to the full. On the Churches of Christ rests a heavy responsibility, to them comes a glorious privilege, by their testimony and influence to form a reason and conscience in every nation, which will supply this machinery with driving power. As not all the nations are equally convinced of the value of the League, so even their Churches are not all of the same mind. An education of the Churches of different lands is necessary to secure a common Christian conscience in this matter for all Christendom. But while conscience can command, love alone can constrain, and accordingly the supreme need is so clear an understanding of one another, and so close a fellowship with one another of the Christian Churches of all lands, as will make them of one spirit, the Spirit of the Lord, the spirit of love, forgiveness, peace. This

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is the purpose for which the World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches has been formed. As a result of Dr. Jowett's appeal, the British Council has been so reconstituted as to be representative of nearly all the denominations. There are now Councils in twenty-three nations. No Council does, or can at present, exercise so great an influence on the other Councils in Europe as the British; and it can effectively exercise its leadership in the ways of peace only as it is not merely representative of the denominations, but is sustained by the mind, heart, and will, the prayer, gifts, and services of all Christian people. What it desires is that all Christian congregations shall corporately affiliate themselves to it, and promise once a year to dedicate themselves in a solemn act of worship to the cause of peace. If the Churches fail in their response to the appeal, what other forces can be brought into the field to secure the triumph of the Spirit of Christ over the spirit of Cain, "who slew his brother"?

(c) Another movement which might commend itself to the support of many Christians needs to be mentioned, since it is working very strenuously and effectively for International Peace. It is known in this country as the "No More War Movement," and is the British Section of a rapidly growing War-Resisters International. It differs from all other Peace Movements in this respect, that its object is to make *personal decision* never to take part in war the backbone of every movement towards World Peace. It is equally op-

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posed to armed force, by whomsoever used, and holds that, only by the way of reason and in the spirit of fellowship and goodwill can the differences between classes or nations be settled.

It is carrying on a persistent campaign to this end both among the Churches, in the Labour Movement and in the Press, and is reaching thousands of people outside Pacifist circles by means of its monthly paper, *No More War*. Chief among its activities have been the initiation of the remarkable No More War Demonstrations which have been held in the country during the last two years and the responsibility for their extension to America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and India and eight new countries in Europe. It is now linked up with similar organisations in twenty-two countries and is rapidly building up through its International Secretariat a world-wide movement based on personal refusal to participate in war.

(d) The testimony of the Society of Friends from the very beginning of its history has been "against all war, and in behalf of the supremacy and liberty of conscience"; and very many Friends during the 1914-1918 war suffered imprisonment as conscientious objectors. The Society was not content with thus bearing its testimony. It was conspicuous for the generous varied humanitarian service which it rendered. Some 6800 cases of stranded aliens were dealt with in London and its neighbourhood alone. Women and children were, where possible, repatriated. In the internment camps workshops and useful occupations were arranged. A highly efficient Quakers' Ambulance

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Corps was equipped at their expense for work in France. Early in 1915 the War Victims Committee was at work in the devastated areas in France, Serbia, and elsewhere. By September 1917 relief work had been undertaken in 401 French villages or towns. In 1916 relief work was extended to the refugees in Russia, and within a few days of the signing of the Peace Treaty, Friends were sent to Germany, and afterwards also Austria and Poland, to make inquiries and to render assistance. More than a million and a half pounds has been collected for War Relief. The Friends have undoubtedly in these beneficent activities shown the other Churches of Christ an example of how Christians may maintain and express the Spirit of Christ in a time of war.

(e) The Fellowship of Reconciliation is a Christian International Movement, consisting of men and women of different race, nation, and class united in a world-wide family. Founded in 1914, it has groups and members in almost every European country, America, the British Colonies, India, China, and Japan. The members desire to realise and be true to their real unity together in the bonds of love, especially in face of the existing barriers which divide men. They believe that the individual can and should practise the way of love even in the midst of a community that does not as yet fully accept it. They rely on the pioneer work of individuals or groups filled with the spirit of service, to permeate and transform the life and institutions of society. They therefore take no part in war or its preparation. They would seek

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to abolish from their own lives the injustice, the selfishness, the desire and the power to dominate their fellows, which constitute the complex evil system of present-day society. They have attempted to express their faith through constructive acts of service and reconciliation in many spheres. Thus they have carried on work of relief among the victims of war and violence and among the starving peoples of Europe. International Conferences have united together as in a family gathering members of twenty-two nations. Various measures leading to Franco-German understanding have been carried through or are in progress, such as conferences, joint reconstructive work, mutual visits, organised news-service between the two countries. Practical work for the Armenians is being undertaken.

3. The Christian has not done enough if he has given his support to the League of Nations Union, the World Alliance, or any other similar organisations. (i) There is a movement working for internationalism the value of which the Christian should take into account. It is true that the war did break up the international organisations of labour, and that it has not yet recovered its unity. But it has not abandoned its aim, the solidarity of all the toilers of the world. What the movement does demonstrate is that the varied interests and pursuits of men in many nations may be used to serve the cause of peace in so far as they can be freed from national limitations and can acquire an international character.

(ii) It has been shown in the first part of this discussion that there are economic conditions and

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political relations by their very nature provocative of war. Christian men will do in vain all the things so far suggested in the interests of peace unless they frankly and bravely face these economic difficulties in all their complexity, and again subject the policy of their own nation to a searching scrutiny, and, if need be, a scathing exposure. To hinder the development of another nation by a selfish abuse of national power in making it difficult to secure food for a growing population, or raw materials for developing industry, or open markets for expanding commerce, or homes overseas for those who seek abroad what they cannot find in their own land, is inevitably to provoke war. The League of Nations will perpetuate injustice if it prevents war without removing these conditions which provoke it. If the British Empire were fashioned according to the vision of that school of imperialists who desire to see an exclusive community of nations, sacrificing to its own enrichment the claims of all other peoples, it would become the greatest outrage in human history, a constant summons to war, a defiant negation of the spirit and purpose of Jesus Christ. An equal opportunity for all peoples, and the freest interchange of persons and property among nations—these alone are the principles of international policy to secure perpetual peace. Is the Christian Church going to be silent when the contrary policy of national pride, greed, and selfishness is being advocated under cover of patriotism?

(iii) Much of the vision must tarry till a wiser, better, and more Christian generation comes on

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the stage of history; but this generation can at least prepare for that coming day. While the education of the young is not the sole factor in the formation of the national spirit or purpose of any people, yet it may weaken or strengthen tendencies due to other factors, and must, therefore, have place in our consideration. How far do our educational methods secure the conditions which set peace before the growing generations as a higher ideal than war?

(a) A factor of primary importance is the teaching of history and geography; wrongly taught, those opinions are formed and sentiments cherished, which are the causes of war, but rightly taught, the hopes and aims of youth can be enlisted in the promotion of peace. This subject is dealt with more fully in the Report on Education.

(b) Cadet and O.T. Corps form a more difficult question than the teaching of history or geography. They are definitely a preparation for war, and seem to many incompatible with an educational training towards peace as the higher ideal. The value which is claimed for them is that they teach discipline, keenness, a proper pride and helpfulness to others in the highest degree; they afford healthy exercise and an opportunity of service. Many who encourage and are active in the movement have no intention to stimulate the spirit of militarism. It may be doubted whether, in pre-war days, military drill, uniforms, and rifles were consciously associated in the minds of the Cadets with war at all. A teacher tells of a boy who on the eve of going to the R.M.A. Woolwich was struck dumb by the

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suggestion that his choice of a profession might ultimately lead to his having to kill someone else. The minds of boys were not in the least militarist and war seemed too remote a contingency to enter into their thoughts. That is no longer the case; training has become more technical; musketry more important; the bearing of it all on national defence more direct. This is perhaps a passing phase; we may slip back into something more general, which will give the pre-war benefits of willing obedience and responsible leadership and initiative without the militarism of the moment. If not, then it will be difficult for those who consider war wrong to square this cadet training with their reading of Christianity. "*Si vis pacem, para bellum*" may or may not be a sound practical maxim, it cannot, when the preparations include the young, be said to create an atmosphere which exalts the virtue of peace.

(c) The teacher's attitude is what leaves its impression, when all that was taught has long been forgotten. It can hardly be denied that our Lord's attitude to war is one of disapproval even if it may be maintained that He does not emphatically forbid it. That attitude is not often reflected in our class-rooms and our homes. Except in very limited circles the rising generation is brought up to accept war as necessary, and usually without any suggestion that it is evil. It is difficult to insist too strongly on the effect of this; our whole outlook is coloured by it. The Christian cannot be content with such an attitude. Even if his faith may allow him under certain conditions to engage

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in war, it quite clearly, when universally followed, will make war impossible by removing the causes which produce it. The spirit of religion is needed in every lesson and not in the religious lesson only; we are still far from having reached the stage when every subject is taught from the Christian point of view; more often it is not consciously considered at all. In this failure militarism finds its opportunity.

(iv) Another influence which may tend either to strife or to friendship is that of Culture in the widest sense. If a strong nation seeks to impose its forms of thought and standards of taste on other peoples, bitter opposition is inevitably aroused; and hardly less dangerous is the militant attitude of certain small and recently liberated peoples, who almost seem to pride themselves on borrowing nothing from others and shutting themselves off from the main stream of the world's thought. Such self-isolation is impossible, in these days above all; and when it is held up as an ideal, it is a real and potent cause of misunderstanding. Rather is it needful to emphasise the truth that only through the effort to understand the genius, the difficulties, the ideals of other peoples can we guide our country's policy aright and make the most of our own inheritance. Not by refusing to borrow from those whose aptitudes are different from our own, but by borrowing wisely, can we rightly estimate our own strength and correct our own weakness.

Examples can be found—and may well be emphasised in education—alike in literature, in history, and in religion. Chaucer was not less the “well of English undefil'd” because he often imitated

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the work of his Italian masters. The heroism of Jeanne d'Arc or the endurance and statesmanship of Washington may well appeal to English children, in spite or even because of the fact that they were exercised in conflict with an England which was seeking to break down the freedom of others. There will, indeed, be an added warmth in the appreciation of heroism displayed by those who belonged to the learner's own race and country. But, for those Western peoples who owe their religion to Palestine and the deepest foundations of their art and science and philosophy to Greece, there can be no disloyalty to their own historic past in the fullest and most thankful acknowledgment of their immense indebtedness to others. More than this, the larger the number of men and women in any nation who set first things first, and value the spiritual gifts which pass over frontiers and tariff-walls unimpeded more than the material goods which lead to strife and rivalry, the less temptation will there be for that nation to plunge into war. Nor can this line of thought and endeavour be better summarised than by extending the scope of the apostolic injunctions, so that it will read: "Look not every people on its own things only, but everyone also on the things of others."

(v) Much is being done for the abolition of war by the Student Christian Movement, especially through its affiliation with the World Student Christian Federation, which is now a world-wide organisation, with branches in 2600 colleges, schools, and universities in over forty countries. The Movement in this country is deeply interested at

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the present time in the international implications of the Gospel; it publishes books on the subject and promotes study and discussion of war and its causes and of international and inter-racial problems. Student leaders from other countries visit the annual national conferences of the various movements (at a recent British Conference thirty-eight other nationalities were represented). The World's Student Christian Federation holds international conferences from time to time where students from different nations meet together to discuss their common problems. Most remarkable of all was the Eleventh General Conference of the Federation held in Peking in April 1922, when the following call to action was issued to the Christian students of the world:

"We consider it our absolute duty to do all in our power to fight the causes leading to war, and war itself as a means of settling international disputes. . . . We desire that the different National Movements of the Federation should face fearlessly and frankly in the light of Jesus' teachings the whole question of war, and of those social and economic forces which tend to issue in war."

This was followed by certain specific recommendations along the lines of international service, personal friendship, study and conference, which have been followed up with remarkable enthusiasm in all countries. There can be no doubt that in all countries to-day the youth of the world is ahead of the average opinion of the Christian Churches in its international thinking and in its determination to abolish war.

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(vi) In this connection a brief mention must be made of the Youth Movement in several continental countries, especially Germany. It is impossible to give an account of all that this movement stands for; so great is the variety of aspirations and efforts. It is reported that in Germany there are 600 separate movements which publish 120 periodicals. There are groups of every political complexion, from extreme Communism to State Socialism or Moderate Nationalism, and every religious persuasion, Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, Jews as well as Christians. Some are purely humanitarian, others are intensely religious. What is a common tendency is a revolt against the conditions which resulted in the war, and an aspiration for the peace of the world through world-brotherhood. While there are extravagances which excite prejudice and suspicion in the circles which follow the old ways, yet on the whole the movements give promise of a better day, when the enthusiasm and energy of youth will be enlisted for better international relations, which shall secure and maintain the reconciliation of hitherto estranged peoples. That the youth of this country should be brought into closer contact with the youth of other lands for such an ideal is a task well worth attempting; and the Churches should give such international fraternisation all the encouragement they can give.

(vii) Best of all would a common morality and a common religion bind the nations together. Despite the failures of Christendom to establish the reign of Christ as the Prince of Peace, the labours of mis-

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sionaries in the spread of the Gospel and the dominance of the Spirit of Christ may be made one of the most important factors in the maintenance of the world's peace. The reproach that the wars of Christian peoples have brought on the cause of Christ has been a serious hindrance to the works of missions, and yet missions may remove that reproach by so presenting the truth and the grace of Christ that He shall indeed be seen to be the Prince of Peace. The future destiny of mankind cannot be determined by Europe and America; Asia and Africa will become of increasing importance. Hence the necessity and the urgency of the call that Christ should be offered as Saviour and Lord to all races and nations, for only in Him can the unity of mankind be fully realised. There will be in the Christian Church of the future peculiarities of national morals and devotion which it is not at all desirable to suppress, but the differences must not be allowed to become so great as to repeat the divisions of the past. What is wanted as the guardian of peace is the formation of a common Christian conscience, which will judge impartially the policy of all nations. And such a common Christian conscience can be formed only as, abandoning their comparative isolation, and maintaining a more frequent intercourse and constant correspondence, Christians restore the community of the Spirit among all communions in all lands in a common witness of the Gospel, a common worship of the Father, a common work for the Kingdom, a common aspiration and endeavour for the higher interests of life, a common

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judgment regarding the relations of nations to one another, a common purpose to make all mankind one family of God.

Signed :—

ALFRED E. GARVIE (*Chairman*).

GEORGE AITKEN.

BERTRAM P. APPLEBY.

G. F. BARBOUR.

GEORGE M. LI. DAVIES.

OLIVER DRYER.

LUCY GARDNER.

JOHN W. GRAHAM.

R. O. HALL.

H. L. JACKSON.

CHARLES E. RAVEN.

R. G. ROUTH.

FRANCIS UNDERHILL.

*F. F. URQUHART.

WILLIAM E. WILSON.

The members of the Commission who, having co-operated in the preparation of the above Report attach their signatures, do so as individuals and in no way commit the Churches or Societies of which they are members. The acceptance of the Report by a signatory denotes agreement with the general substance of the Report, but not necessarily with every detail.

* *Note of Reservation.*—I agree with a great deal that has been written in the Report of the Commission on Christianity and War (*e. g.* with what is said about the “biological argument for war, about wars for national interests,” etc.), but I cannot be content with the grudging admission, even of those who are not

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“pacifists,” that war may sometimes be permissible. So long as there is no universal State capable and willing to impose a just peace, war may, I believe, be the sacred duty of a nation as the only means of preventing gross national injustice. On the other hand to wage an unjust war is a great national crime, and it is the duty of all Christians and all men to do what they can to prevent their country from committing it.—F. F. URQUHART.

CHAPTER V
RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER V

RECOMMENDATIONS

THE Commission will submit the following recommendations to the Conference for adoption :—

The Conference recommends :—

1. That the Christian Churches should in their public testimony and with all their influence oppose all policies that provoke war, and support all conditions in the relation of nations favourable to peace, and the agencies which promote peace.

2. That they should unreservedly condemn, and refuse to support in any way, a war waged before the matter in dispute has been submitted to an arbitral tribunal, or in defiance of the decision of such a tribunal.

3. That they should exert all their authority in securing protection from any form of persecution for those whose conscience forbids their rendering any kind of war-service.

4. That by study of the New Testament in the light of the guidance of the Spirit, they should seek to reach a common Christian conscience in regard to war.

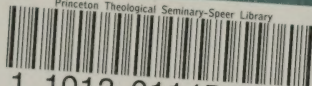
5. That they should cultivate such intimate fellowship with the Churches of other lands that through the one Church of Jesus Christ the spirit

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of reconciliation shall triumph over all national prejudices, suspicions, and enmities, and that the churches of many lands may unitedly formulate a Peace-Programme which can be commended to all who profess and call themselves Christian, so that Christ shall reign as Prince of Peace.

6. That the Churches should hold these principles, not only in times of peace, when their practical denial is not threatened, but that also, when war is imminent, they should dare to take an independent stand for righteousness and peace, even if the Press and public opinion be at the time against them.

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